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cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."[13] These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"[14] —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

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1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."[15] Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.[16]

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.
[15] *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.
[16] *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

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*698 *175 the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

439 661 Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.[17]

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable." [18] The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

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[436] During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.[19]

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

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*698 *175 226 439 661 [423] 3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae [20] and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 173–174.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174.
[20] "*Ainoma*," the right to the river, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "*Kennichi*," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).
[21] *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

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In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

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laborers increased, a new position called *"Kozukai"* was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

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For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

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Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

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The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

KUNASHIRI[63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

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In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

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[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi*, No. 276: 901–902.

There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken.

This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tōkai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . .," there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.[67] For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

> The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

and also:

> The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

> Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.[68] The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Umunoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.[69] The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

[67] *Sekai*, No. 90: 70.
[68] *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51-52.
[69] *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46-48.

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

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[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,[74] but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

> Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhan Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

> Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi:* "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit." [75]

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.

cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[74] Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

[75] *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.